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CHAPTER 12

Cantigas de amigo

Galicia and Brazil in the Lusophone Musical Space

FREDERICK MOEHN

*Songs in the tide, sounds of our speech
Songs in the tide, they are songs and that is all
Songs of Guinea [Bissau], songs of Cape Verde
Colors of Brazil, sea from the docks of Portugal
Moon of Luanda, sound of Mozambique
The Atlantic immersing the sounds of our speech
Wind of Fisteria, lands of sand
The Atlantic immersing the sounds of our speech
Sails billowing, in the sea of Marola
Sounds of São Tomé, from the streets of Lisbon
Ay lele lele, ay lele lele, Songs in the tide
—“Cantos na Maré,” Uxía¹*

*Galicia has a surplus of the past and Brazil has a surplus of the future; the two
together form an eternity of past and future.*

—Concha Rousia, President of the Brazil Galicia Cultural Institute²

IN MARCH 2010 the Brazil Galicia Cultural Institute (ICBG)—established five months earlier in Santiago de Compostela, Spain—opened a branch in Santa Catarina, in the south of Brazil. The inaugural celebration for it began with a performance of Brazil’s national anthem and came to a close with “Os pinos” (The Pines), Galicia’s official anthem, followed by a recitation of Gali-

I am grateful to Uxía, Luanda Cozetti, Aline Frazão, Lenine, Fred Martins, Xurxo Nóvoa Martins, Serginho Sales, Sérgio Tannus, and Xulio Villaverde, for sharing their musical worlds with me. The Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia of Portugal provided research support through the Institute for Ethnomusicology (INET-MD) at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Richard Gordon, Robert Newcomb, and Ana Maria Alarcón provided helpful feedback.

1. The translation of these lyrics and all other translations from Galician and Portuguese sources in this essay are my own.

2. From the opening ceremony for the Brazilian branch of the Brazil Galicia Cultural Institute, as quoted in Silva.

cian poetry with guitar accompaniment and music from the Brazilian group Portal do Choro (*choro* is a Brazilian instrumental genre). The president of the new branch proclaimed that for Brazilians, getting to know Galicia and studying its culture “meant an awakening of their consciousness to the importance of language in our lives and in the culture of our people” (Silva). He was referring to the fact that modern Galician and Portuguese are easily mutually intelligible; they both emerged from medieval Galician-Portuguese, once the favored language of lyric poetry on the Iberian Peninsula. The female-voiced poems about male lovers referred to as *cantigas de amigo* (or *cantigas d’amigo*), such as those composed by the *joglar* (minstrel) Martín Códax and by King Denis of Portugal in the thirteenth century, are evidence of this heritage.

The ICBG’s mission includes promoting mutual understanding and cultural, educational, scientific, and business collaboration between Galicia and Brazil in a variety of forums and events. It also seeks to encourage links of “Lusophone solidarity” between Portuguese-speaking countries through publications and digital media.³ In a sense, the ICBG bypasses Lisbon-centric discourses of Portuguese heritage and claims a direct mother-tongue link between Galicia and the massive, economically dynamic South American country, a connection not freighted with the legacies of colonialism or Lusotropicalism.⁴ It could be said that Galicia, with its “excess of history,” as ICBG president Concha Rousia put it, is reaching out over the centuries and over the sea to partake of some of Brazil’s “excess of future,” as if to expunge another Galician history: its incorporation into the kingdoms of Castile and León, and subsequently the Spanish nation-state. Might Galicia offer a fruitful intellectual space for thinking beyond the clefts that we are glossing in this book with the metaphor of Tordesillas? If language is considered the primary basis for Galicia’s cultural links with Brazil and Portugal (as with other countries where Portuguese is spoken), what role might music play in this space? The *cantigas de amigo* were, after all, also songs. Likewise, the writer Rosalia de Castro inaugurated the modern Galician language renaissance, or *Rexurdimento*, with a collection of poems labeled as songs: *Cantares Gallegos*, published in 1863.⁵

3. The ICBG’s mission is wide-reaching; see the statement at <<http://icbg.edublogs.org>> (last accessed 5 Feb. 2012).

4. Lusotropicalism proposes that the Portuguese were uniquely tolerant and adaptable colonizers open to miscegenation with other “races” in “tropical” countries such as Brazil or the African colonies. The term was coined by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in the 1930s and has been associated with the contested claim that Brazil is a “racial democracy.” Freyre’s ideas were eventually embraced by the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal in the 1950s, partly because they could be deployed to help justify Portugal’s continued presence in Africa.

5. The *Rexurdimento* renaissance of the Galician language began in the mid-nineteenth century after the so-called Dark Centuries of Castilianization. At the time, Castilian Spanish

Galicia is officially recognized as an historic nationality within Spain. Since 1981 it has also enjoyed status as an autonomous community. Nevertheless, Galicia's centuries-old subordination to Castile and Madrid, aggravated under Francisco Franco (who was, in fact, Galician), has facilitated the increasing Castilianization of its language. Moreover, many Galicians speak Castilian at least part of the time in their day-to-day routines, especially in urban areas (Suárez). Yet Castilian influence over the community has also fueled the desire to help the Galician language thrive. There is, for example, an active debate over the orthography of Galician, with those of the *lusista* (Thompson) persuasion in favor of excising Castilian influences on spelling and instead adhering to the 1990 Portuguese Orthographic Accord, aimed at standardizing the written language.

Beyond the orthography debates, however, many Galician cultural actors often feel an affinity for Portuguese culture (particularly for that of the Minho region in the northwest of the country, the location of the original Portuguese state founded in the twelfth century by Afonso I). The celebrated Portuguese singer-songwriter José "Zeca" Afonso, for example, was beloved in Galicia. More recently, Brazil too has become increasingly important to those asserting affinities with other "Lusophone" contexts, as suggested by the ICBG platform. Legendary Brazilian singer-songwriter Caetano Veloso drew vociferous cheers of "Bravo Caetano!" when, during a 2008 performance at Quintana dos Mortos, in Santiago, he shrewdly announced on stage that he always speaks Portuguese rather than Spanish in Galicia, "because our language is Galician-Portuguese."⁶

In this chapter I explore how *lusofonia*—the notion that there are durable cultural links between lands where Portuguese is spoken—is put into practice through music making, with a brief examination of some recent musical projects and recordings from Galicia. The musicians I have come to know in this part of Iberia tend to be sympathetic to the "reintegrationist" movement, which advocates affiliating with the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP). Galicia might be considered a space of friction in Iberian studies, perhaps even one that accentuates the linguistic and cultural differences between Portugal and Spain. At the same time, however, Galicia can serve to draw our attention away from Lisbon and Madrid, and trace alternative relationships between Iberia and the Americas. As Burghard Baltrusch

dominated in Galician cities and officialdom, while Galician had become a declining rural, nonliterary language.

6. See <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEUg-IhIrm8>> (last accessed 26 Feb. 2012).

has suggested, Galicia can “offer itself as a cultural hinge with its own identity, between the Lusophone and Hispanic worlds” (14).⁷

Indeed, for some of the musicians I researched in Galicia, Madrid and Lisbon might be described as symbolic loci of “embarrassment,” to reference anthropologist Michael Herzfeld’s framework of cultural intimacy in relation to the nation-state. For Herzfeld, this kind of intimacy occurs in settings where there exist shared aspects of identity about which a social group may feel “embarrassed” but which also foster common ground for engagement with the nation-state—in expressions of nationalism as well as of critique or resistance (3). Galician *lusista* cultural production runs contrary to Madrid’s authority to claim it as belonging to a “regional” identity—to an “autonomous community” within the Spanish state. In fact, it prefers to ignore the bureaucratic concentration of power in Madrid and in Lisbon, the former administrative center of the Portuguese Empire. Whereas Galician reintegrationists feel affinity for Lusophone expressive culture—especially music and literature—cultural actors in the former colonial territories may feel ambivalent toward Lisbon as a political capital. “On the level of people’s identities,” the Angolan singer-songwriter Aline Frazão—who lives in Santiago de Compostela—told me during an interview, “conversation between the South and Portugal is difficult, because their way of doing things is very official in general, especially in Lisbon.” Brazilians and Angolans, Aline felt, tended to be more informal, making communication with Portugal difficult. Galicia represents, she said, something of a “neutral territory” in this regard, or, as the Galician singer-songwriter Uxía (Uxía Senlle) put it during this group interview, “virgin territory.”⁸

Thus, those forms of embarrassment that seem to have roots in the legacy of colonial domination may be offset by a sense of “cultural relief,” as Sérgio put it, when Brazilians learn that there is a linguistic connection with a setting that stands outside of the former Empire, and that actually appears to claim “older” links than Lisbon can. These affinities speak to the “forms of rueful self-recognition” that characterize cultural intimacy in Herzfeld’s view (3). In truth, Brazilians seem to have little use for the term *lusofonia*. They tend to perceive “Luso” as attributing primacy to the Portuguese aspect, whereas Brazilian national identity discourse has typically privileged the country’s history of miscegenation between Portuguese, Africans, and Amerindians. Brazilian

7. Similarly, Hooper and Moruxa see Galicia as situated between “the Atlantic north and the Mediterranean south” and between Europe and America, with ties to both *hispanidad* and *lusofonia* (1).

8. From a group interview I conducted with Aline Frazão, Uxía, Sérgio Tannus, and Xurxo Nóvoa Martins, 8 Mar. 2011, in Santiago de Compostela.

author Luiz Ruffato proposed substituting the term “galeguia” (from *galego*) for *lusofonia*. Galician is the true mother tongue, he suggested; the term *galeguia* “diminishes the weight of the colonial past, and reincorporates, with due credit, Galicia into this shared universe” (214). Meanwhile, cultural actors sympathetic to the reintegrationist movement strive to reverse the effects of a history of state-supported efforts to render the Galician minority language a source of embarrassment.

Consider, for example, the program for a festival of Galician- and Portuguese-language cultural expression called *éMundial*, held in Vigo in June 2012. The reintegrationist Galician Language Association (AGAL) organized three weeks of events featuring “people and realities that speak our language with different musicalities, colors, and forms” (a phrase which, admittedly, does not translate elegantly into English).⁹ The aim was to show that the Galician language represents “a strength and an opportunity, not a problem,” and that Galicians “can navigate in a linguistic and cultural world that spans four continents [and] unites 250 million people.” The organizers of *éMundial* sought to demonstrate that Galicians have access to the artistic and business output of this wider world, and that language is Galicia’s “competitive advantage in the Spanish and European setting.” Uxía prepared a brief video message to help promote the event. The best path for “joining our voices,” she said in the clip while accompanying herself on acoustic guitar, “is [through] our music.” The tools for advancing this brotherhood, she went on, are “mutual knowledge, melodies, the common language, our rhythms, which guide us on how to reach this dream, which is no longer a utopia.” So long as Galicia travels the path of *lusofonia*, of *galeguia*, Uxía concluded, it is worldwide (*mundial*). She ended by singing to a chant-like melody, “Galician is worldwide.”¹⁰

Conceptualizing *lusofonia* as rooted in the tongue of the former “discoverers” and colonizers not only seems to exclude the Galician language; it also cedes no fundamental role for the variety of other languages spoken (not necessarily written) in spaces politically mapped as Lusophone, including indigenous languages in Brazil or Angola, for example, or Cape Verdean Kriolo. The notion of *galeguia* does not actually mitigate this particular problem and perhaps even runs the risk of further essentializing cultural solidarity. Moreover, there exists a conceptual tension between thinking about Galician as a kind of “mother tongue” to Portuguese—or as in some ways closer to medieval Galician-Portuguese—on the one hand, and thinking of it as a dialect

9. Website for *éMundial* 2012 <<http://emundial.org/2012/que-e-3>> (last accessed 13 Apr. 2013).

10. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=W-bKlkEoi4M> (last accessed 14 Apr. 2013).

that should be “re-integrated” into contemporary Portuguese, on the other. Baltrusch thus cautions that instrumentalizing a particular language “as the ontological vehicle of the identity of a people will always be revealed as a consecration lacking foundation” (11). Orthographic accords cannot reverse the grammatical distinctions that have already occurred between, for example, European and Brazilian Portuguese, he points out. On the contrary, they may continue to diverge, Baltrusch suggests, without this being an impediment to the emergence of new and revitalizing cultural exchanges (9). Language is “merely the shell that surrounds [. . .] the translational dynamic to which myths, ideologies, and other cultural values are subject” (11).

Music, in this context, offers the possibility to move discussions of *lusofonia* (and *hispanidad*) beyond linguistic foundationalism. Indeed, while linguistic affinities are important to musicians sympathetic to reintegration, and while the lyrical component is a salient aspect of the music of Uxía and other singer-songwriters working in Galicia, there are additional dimensions to music making that heighten affective sympathies with—for example—Brazilian musical cultures. These include, as Uxía suggested in the video message just described, melodies and rhythms, as well as specific musical instruments or shared knowledge of repertory. These musicians have studied the musical “language” of *bossa nova* and are familiar with the rhythmic syncopations of Brazilian *samba* percussion, the timbres of Portuguese *fado*, the bluesy melodies of Cape Verdean *morna*, and other key genres that circulate among listeners and practitioners of Lusophone music.

Fernando Arenas has suggested that affective ties represent an important and largely unexamined aspect of *lusofonia*, one that is “fraught with contradiction and ambiguity” because of the legacies of colonialism and the dynamics of globalization (137). He writes of “the draw of affect pulling Brazil simultaneously toward Portugal and Africa” (31) but, as already suggested, Galicia appeals to some as a cultural setting that remains outside of this postcolonial space. Affect speaks to the complex of sentiments, practices, and material objects (such as the nylon-stringed classical guitar, or the tambourine) that allow these creative agents to feel “at home” in a given expressive context, or that promote feelings of solidarity, perhaps a sense that social “conversations”—oral, written, musical, visual—can proceed under the presumption of a certain level of shared cultural heritage. Crucially, however, affective engagement between Galician and Brazilian musicians does not presume complete identification of cultural forms or practices; there is similarity *and* difference. The Galician *pandeireta*, for example, is not played the same way as the Brazilian *pandeiro*, and it sounds different too. Musicians find the juxtaposition of these two similar but distinct instruments to be interesting.

At the same time, economic considerations may also motivate cultural producers who seek to present their work as Lusophone. These would seem to be particularly vital to a minority language community. Thus, for example, the reintegrationist monthly magazine *Novas da Galiza* recently chose to apply the norms of the Orthographic Accord to its articles. Eduardo Maragoto of the magazine explained: “In terms of strengthening the language, applying the OA brings Portuguese and Galician much closer together because people begin to see more economically and politically valuable futures for Galician.”¹¹ Musicians are sometimes the first to admit that they seek to expand their listenership (and perhaps thereby to increase their sources of income). This dynamic is not simply about “massifying” one’s product to reach ever-wider publics within a given market. Many musicians in Galicia are not making music for so-called mainstream listening publics. Precisely because their work appeals to niche audiences, they need to find how far those niches extend. Cognizant of Brazil’s growing influence in world culture and business, Galician musicians see the South American country as a potential market for their work. Yet they find that most Brazilians know little about Galicia, and so there is a kind of informational campaign built into those projects that seek broader publics in Brazil and other parts of the Portuguese-speaking world.

In sum, for cultural actors in Galicia, genuine and deep-rooted affective sentiments can be accompanied by hopes of reaching new audiences. We are presented with a form of cultural intimacy that spills beyond the stifling confines of nation-states through international musical collaborations, taste communities, and markets. A brief look at the recent work of Uxía, the most prominent musician advocating for Galicia’s relevance to the Lusophone cultural space, can help illustrate these points.

PERFORMING LUSOFONIA: UXÍA AND THE *CANTOS NA MARÉ* MUSICAL EVENT

As an artist who began her career in the 1980s, when Galician nationalism was emerging from the shadows of the Franco years, Uxía has been at the center of the autonomous community’s vibrant folk music scene for over twenty-five years. Since 2003 she has organized an annual Lusophone music festival in Pontevedra (a city and province in the southeast of Galicia, bordering Portugal), called *Cantos na Maré* (Songs of the Tide), with musicians from various Portuguese-speaking countries, including Brazil (Chico César, Socorro Lira,

11. “Jornal galego *Novas da Galiza* aplica novo acordo ortográfico,” no author attributed.

Paulinho Moska, for example). The opening epigraph to this chapter presents the lyrics to her theme song for this event. They name various places in Galicia and other countries where Portuguese is spoken—Luanda, Lisbon, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, for example—and describe the Atlantic as “immersing the sounds of our speech.” Songs of these various places wash up on Galicia’s shores “in the tide.” The “Ay lele lele” vocables faintly echo the traditional refrain of the *alalá* genre of Galicia.

Uxía recorded her album *Meu Canto* (2011) in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro with a mix of Brazilian and Galician repertory, and with guest performances from Brazilian musicians such as Jaime Alem, Lui Coimbra, Socorro Lira, Marcos Lobo, Marcelo Martins, Júlio Santin, and Ricardo Vignini. Her musical director, the guitarist and arranger Sérgio Tannus (introduced above), is from Niterói, near the city of Rio de Janeiro. Now living in Santiago de Compostela, Sérgio has taken to calling himself a “Brasilego” (contraction of Brazilian-Galician). In our interview Sérgio related the story of how he ended up in Santiago de Compostela. At home in Brazil in April 2006 he attended a cultural festival titled Niterói Meets Spain, part of a series of annual encounters featuring different guest nations. Sérgio met Uxía and other Galician musicians at the festival, including drummer Luís Alberto and guitarist Marcos Teira. He discovered an immediate affinity for the Galician language and for the music. He had no idea, he recalled, that Galicia had a culture so distinct from the rest of Spain. With an invitation from Pepe Sendón (who, like Marcos Teira, had been a bandmate of the Galician rock singer-songwriter Narf), Sérgio traveled to the capital of Galicia in September 2006 to perform in a duo with Brazilian singer-guitarist Lilian França at the Municipal Theater. He “walked on the stones of Santiago,” he remembered, and saw the great cathedral. With the concert “the door opened,” as people established in the local arts scene approached him to talk and network after the show. The duo spent six months touring Spain, beginning and ending in Galicia. By the time Sérgio returned to Brazil, he had resolved to move to Santiago de Compostela. “I arrived and they adopted me,” he recalls. “I don’t stay in any place just for the work,” he added. “I stay for the good energy of the people, for the good music. So I thought to myself, ‘There’s work here. There are good people, there’s culture, I’m hearing things that we don’t hear in Brazil. I need to spend some time here.’” Aside from working with Uxía, Sérgio also hosted a regular Brazilian music jam session at the Borriquita de Belém bar in Santiago (among other musical collaborations); in 2012 he released a solo album titled *Son Brasilego* (Brasilego Sound), featuring musicians from Brazil, Angola, Portugal, and Galicia performing his own repertoire.

To return to Uxía's *Meu Canto* album, which she co-produced with Sérgio, a promotional text proposes that it "follows the path of a culture that travels and transforms the meaning and nature of borders."¹² It opens with a traditional song, "Verde gaio" (Green Parakeet), heard in Galicia, Portugal, and Brazil. Brazilian singer-songwriter Lenine sings a duet with Uxía for the song "Os teus ollos" (Your Eyes), the text to which is a poem by a late nineteenth-century *Rexurdimento* writer, Manuel Curros Enríquez. Likewise, for "Daquelas que cantan" Uxía wrote a song for a poem by *Rexurdimento* author Rosalia de Castro. It utilizes a kind of *maxixe*/tango rhythm, with accordion accompaniment from Brazilian João Carlos Coutinho (*maxixe* is a Brazilian genre with a rhythm somewhat similar to that of the tango; it was popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). For "Alalás encadeado" Uxía and Sérgio wrote a composition in the traditional *alalá* style with lyrics from an unpublished poem by the Galician writer Uxio Novoneyra. This chant-like song form—which, as mentioned, features a refrain with the vocables "a-la-la"—is strongly associated with Galician nationalism, and may be performed with *gaita* (bagpipe) interludes. On Uxía's song, however, guest musician Júlio Santin provides accompaniment on a *viola caipira*, a distinctly Brazilian guitar used in the *cantoria* ballad tradition. For "Menino do bairro negro" (Boy from the Black Neighborhood, by the Portuguese José "Zeca" Afonso, mentioned above), Sérgio plays *cavaquinho*, a small four-stringed guitar-like instrument popular in Brazil and Cape Verde, and believed to have originated in Braga, in the north of Portugal (close to Galicia).

Many Brazilian listeners will recognize Paulo César Pinheiro and João Nogueira's declamatory samba, "Minha missão" (My Mission). Uxía sings the first verse in a commanding voice as she accompanies herself on the Galician *pandeireta*: "When I sing / it is to relieve my tears / and the tears of one who has already suffered so." For the second verse, however, the song switches to samba as Sérgio performs the Brazilian *pandeiro* (as well as guitar accompaniment through overdubbing in the recording studio), making a creative link between the *pandeireta* and *pandeiro* tambourine styles (which are, in fact, quite different, although both instruments likely descend from Moorish / North African frame drums). The comparison—not perfect identification—is what makes the song both intelligible and interesting to the "brasilego." Uxía closes the album with "Alalá das Mariñas," a traditional Galician *alalá*, with sparse acoustic guitar accompaniment from Sérgio and flute from Marcelo Martins. In the opening moments, Carlos Blanco reads a verse by Xurxo Nóvoa Martins, a writer from Vigo: "In the tide of bod-

12. Publicity text from the recording label Fol Música: <http://www.folmusica.com/web.php/seo/?_pagi_pg=26> (last accessed 26 Feb. 2012).

ies / that move through the ins and outs of the city without rest / humanity cries but I remain silent / and the wind, friend in the dawn, brings your song closer to me.”

In December 2010, when I attended Uxía’s *Cantos na Maré* music festival, Lenine was the featured Brazilian musician; he joined Guadi Galego (from Galicia), Aline Frazão (introduced above: Angolan, based in Santiago de Compostela), and António Zambujo (a Portuguese singer-songwriter) as the other headlining artists (along with Uxía). A scene from the after-party following the concert impressed upon me how familiarity with song repertory can enable performances of *lusofonia*. Concert participants and friends met for a late tapas-style dinner in the old center of Pontevedra. They chose an informal tavern-like establishment in which, soon after eating marinated octopus and cured meats with Albariño white wine from the Rias Baixas, the musicians began to sing and play. Uxía, with Sérgio Tannus on guitar, introduced a medley that the two had arranged for a previous Lusophone musical event in Santiago. She began it by singing a well-known traditional Galician folk melody, “Ven bailar Carmiña” (Come Dance, Carmiña). She followed this with the 1957 Brazilian *baião* “Mulher Rendeira” (Woman Lace Maker, with lyrics purportedly penned in 1922 by the great bandit of the Brazilian Northeast, Lampião), and then Brazilian Luiz Gonzaga’s classic anthem of the hard life of the Northeast, “Asa Branca” (White Wing, the name of a local bird).

As Uxía sang Gonzaga’s verses, Lenine, who is from Pernambuco, in the northeast of Brazil, and thus has a special connection with Gonzaga’s music, extemporized in a call-and-response manner. Aline Frazão then kept the medley going by slowing the tempo to sing the beloved Cape Verdean *morna* “Sodade” (written by Armando Zeferino Soares, but best known in Cesária Évora’s voice). Aline improvised her own melody on the verses; she was joined by the entire room on the refrain, “Sodade, sodade, sodade, dess nha terra, São Nicolau” (meaning, roughly, “nostalgia and longing for my land, São Nicolau”). Among the other musicians present were Brazilian singer and former Cantos na Maré artist Luanda Cozetti (a resident of Lisbon); the featured Portuguese musician António Zambujo, whose music draws on the *fado* style; Xulio Villaverde, who teaches Galician percussion in Lisbon; and Brazilian ethnomusicology student Claudia Goes (pursuing graduate studies at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa). Goes joined in on the *pandeiro*. It was an intensely affective, intimate (and unofficial, nonbureaucratic) affirmation of Galicia’s place in the “community of Portuguese-speaking countries.”

LUSOFONIA AS AN ONTOLOGY OF TRANSLATION

Performative moments like these, of which I have witnessed several in Galicia and Lisbon, have obliged me to take the idea of *lusofonia* seriously, despite the valid critiques that scholars have offered of it.¹³ The point is not to disavow these critiques, or to show *lusofonia* as “real” or harmonious. A concept that scholars can reveal to be internally inconsistent, unevenly embraced, or ideologically problematic may nevertheless shape the performance and experience of meaningful, enjoyable sociality. The critical work is to parse the ways in which sameness and difference, understanding and misunderstanding, play out in expressive practices and communities. Contemporary Galician and Brazilian music probably have comparatively little in common in terms of basic structural elements. “There aren’t many similarities in rhythm,” Sérgio Tannus observed. Instead, affect seems to drive processes of musical translation: “But this power [*força*], this desire, and these roots are very much alike in Brazil and in Galicia,” Sérgio asserted, “because we are brothers and sometimes we mix up the rhythms. [So] sometimes we play the Brazilian *pandeiro* [together with] the Galician *pandeireta*.” “For Galicians I am different,” Sérgio conceded, “and Galicia is different for me.” Yet, he claims that he feels more “like himself” in Santiago than in Niterói. Is this paradoxical, or is Sérgio so comfortable there because he found difference *in* sameness (or vice versa)?

Baltrusch argues for an ontology of translation in understanding Galicia’s potential place in *lusofonia*. Much of what people like to label as “Lusophone” in their culture, he observes, “is in reality not intelligible to them, whether because of linguistic divergences or because of cultural differences” (10). While there “exists a Lusophone culture and media industry that allows a small group of companies and creative individuals to survive from its production,” he observes, “these fundamentally economic (and often subsidized) relations obscure major political, social, and cultural divergences” (10). Uxía is in fact dismayed with how little Brazilians know about Galicia. The Brazilian musical soundscape is today so large and varied that it has no pressing “need” of Galicia, or even of Portugal, for that matter. From a market perspective, Galicia (and Portugal) are insignificant; Lenine, for example, probably sells more and fills bigger performance spaces in France, where he has established ties in the music business, than he does in Iberia.

But Brazilian-Galician cultural exchanges do not presume perfect understanding. On the contrary, there is enough difference to make things inter-

13. Some important critical essays on *lusofonia* and the related notion of Lusophone post-colonialism are Almeida, Madureira, Margarido, Sanches, and Santos.

esting, to stimulate feelings of *discovery*, and enough sameness to facilitate communication, to make it seem like heritage, to allow individuals to feel that they are finding or enabling *a part of themselves*. Baltrusch draws on Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of "family resemblance" (a term in use in the nineteenth century to describe language families). The anti-essentialist concept points to a kind of fabric of similarities in instances where it may seem that there exists one fundamental feature in common (such as language). In fact, many cultural expressions of the "agglomerate called *lusofonia*," he points out, "require translation, explanation, contextualization," or what he calls "para-translation" (10).¹⁴ Galicia, Baltrusch holds, is well situated for such work. I would add that as cultural agents, musicians can experience the excitement of being among those who are forging such links and discoveries in their creative practice; they and their audiences can immerse themselves, to quote from Uxía's song lyrics for "Cantos na maré," in the "songs of the tide" (as I did at the festival after-party described above, for example).

CONCLUSIONS

Baltrusch may be right that the Lusophone cultural marketplace can obscure "a lack of critical work on the memory of the colonial past and, above all, a significant lack of interest in real translations and adaptations of cultures and values, and of their corresponding criticism" (10). However, musicians work with sound, lyrics, timbres, emotions, performance, and they do so in a cultural marketplace. Brazil seems to offer the potential to expand audiences, and Galician musicians may be interested in doing so both out of genuine affective affinity and because it seems like a good way to promote their work. Meanwhile, some Brazilian musicians, such as Sérgio Tannus, have made Santiago de Compostela their home, feeling comfortable in its *lusista* cultural settings.

At the time of this writing, the crisis of the Euro currency has highlighted national, regional, and other particularities of the European Union. International Monetary Fund / European Central Bank loans to Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Cyprus demand austerity measures and economic reforms, which

14. "Paratranslation" (or para/tradución, as Baltrusch sometimes writes it) is a concept associated with professor Yuste Frías at the University of Vigo, in Galicia, where Baltrusch also works. The basic idea is that there are elements that are parallel to a "text itself" that also require translation (essentially, the cultural context). Nord argues that the neologism is unnecessary because it merely identifies what translators have always done. My point here is simply that *lusofonia* does not presume complete intelligibility from one context where Portuguese is spoken (or Galician) to another.

some perceive as threats to sovereignty, while the political discourse can veer toward stereotypes about lack of fiscal discipline and transparency in the southern European nations. In 2013 youth unemployment in Portugal reportedly reached 40 percent (Minder), and the scenario was not much better in Spain at the time (meanwhile, as the economies of the southern nations contract, governments collect fewer revenues and are unable to meet the terms of the loans). Massive emigration, of course, is not new to Iberia. Galicians, for example, have long overrepresented Spain's ex-patriate community (while they are 6 percent of the population of Spain, one statistic counts them as 27 percent of Spaniards abroad; Hooper and Moruxa 2). At the same time, anti-immigration policies seem to be gaining strength in Europe, which may result in Latin American or Lusophone African nationals finding fewer opportunities in Portugal or Spain.

How *lusofonia* and *hispanidad* will emerge from the Euro crisis is unclear. Baltrusch argues that together these two identifications "form part of a vague and malleable superstructure," or even a "mythical meta-system" called *latinidad*, in "competition with an efficiently predatory anglofonia" (5). This may be true as far as it goes. Today, however, we see Brazil as an economic power competing with China for investments in development projects in Angola and Mozambique, for example. So can emergent Brazil-Galicia musical collaborations help advance the project to move "beyond Tordesillas"? To the extent that they divert our attention from the old capitals of Madrid and Lisbon, highlighting internal frictions and postcolonial resonances in the two Iberian states, I think so. Insofar as they join sincere affective affinities with the potential of do-it-yourself music production and an awareness of contemporary market realities, perhaps they open doors to new discussions about Iberian and Latin American cultural heritage.

However, while the terms *lusofonia* and "the Lusophone world" continue to be called upon to describe a variety of cultural productions and affinities, these ways of framing cultural practices struggle to escape their roots in conservative and somewhat essentialist notions of heritage. Culture flows from various centers and in diverse directions, perhaps especially in popular music. As we continue to research these questions, we would do well to study in greater depth the pronounced Caribbean influence in Angolan music, or in popular music from the north and northeast of Brazil, or the fascination that the hipster singers in the Rio de Janeiro-based big band Orquestra Imperial have for old Spanish-language boleros and cha cha chas, to give a few examples. Also of interest is a recently inaugurated team research project focused on Expressive Culture at the Luso-Hispanic Border, based at the Institute for

Ethnomusicology (INET-MD) at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, which will generate several publications in the coming years. On Galician identity specifically, the online journal *Galicia21: Journal of Contemporary Galician Studies* is a good resource. The barriers to communication and understanding that we are glossing with the metaphor of Tordesillas have proved surprisingly durable, not least in academia, but there are conversations happening.

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